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AN
ANSWER.
TO
THREE SCURRILOUS PAMPHLETS,
ENTITLED
THE JOCKEY CLUB.

BY A MEMBER OF THE JOCKEY CLUB.

Qui ea quæ vult dicit, ea quæ non vult, audiet.

TERENCE.

L O N D O N ;
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TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE CLUBS
IN ST. JAMES'S-STREET
AND
PALL-MALL,
THIS ANSWER
TO THE
SCURRILOUS PAMPHLETS,
CALLED
THE JOCKEY CLUB,
IS MOST
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY AN

OLD FRIEND.

C O N T E N T S.

THE Author	—	—	<i>Page</i> 9
The King	—	—	15
The Queen	—	—	21
Prince of Wales	—	—	28
Duke of York	—	—	34
Duke of Clarence	—	—	35
Duke of Gloucester	—	—	35
Duchefs of Gloucester	—	—	36
Duchefs of Cumberland	—	—	36
Mrs. Fitzherbert	—	—	38
Duke of Brunfwick	—	—	40
Duke of Bedford	—	—	41
Duke of Dorfet	—	—	42
Duke of Grafton	—	—	43
Duke of Leeds	—	—	44
Duke of Montrofe	—	—	45
Duke of Malborough	—	—	45
Duke of Norfolk	—	—	46
Duke of Portland	—	—	48
			Duke

C O N T E N T S.

Duke of Queensberry	_____	49
Duke of Richmond	_____	50
Marquis of Lansdowne	_____	57
Earl of Barrymore	— —	60
Earl Clermont	_____	60
Earl of Chesterfield	_____	60
Earl of Coventry	_____ _____	61
Earl of Chatham	_____ _____	63
Earl of Derby	_____	65
Earl of Egremont	_____	66
Earl Grosvenor	_____	67
Earl of Harrington	_____	67
Earl of Leicester	_____	67
Earl of Upper Ossory	_____	68
Lord Viscount Stormont	_____	69
Lord Auckland	_____	70
Lord Foley	_____	72
Lord Grenville	_____	73
Lord Hawkesbury	_____	74
Lord Kenyon	_____	76
Lord Onslow	_____	77
Lord Thurlow	_____	78
Lord Belgrave	_____	81
Lord Gower	_____ _____	81
Lord Edward Bentinck	_____	81
Lord Geo. H. Cavendish	_____	81
Lord John Townshend	_____	81
Mr. Justice Buller, and the Doctrine of Libels		82
Mr. Edm. Burke, and the Reform of Parliament		93
Mr. Pitt	_____ _____	

A N
A N S W E R,

THE AUTHOR.

pourtrayed in false colours, nor in language unfounded in truth. He shall be represented exactly as he is,

Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice.

He shall be exhibited in terms of the strictest truth. He who says what he pleases, shall hear what he does not like.

*There are whom Heaven has blest with store of wit,
Yet want as much again to manage it.* POPE.

There is no character to whom this motto could be more properly applied. It was said of Sixteen-String-Jack, and other notorious characters of the same stamp, that they were only half made; or, as Shakespear says, "they were made by one of Nature's journeymen, that had not been an hour at the trade:" That is, in the Shandean description, the clock had not been wound up, the weights had not their proper draught, nor the wheels their full velocity; so the homunculus was not electrified but affected, not at the birth, but at the origin. This is the best apology that can be made for a non-descript animal

mal of the human form. Possessed of sense without discretion, of learning without improvement, of language without veracity—such a man may be as destitute of any good quality, as amply endowed with every bad one. Agreeable to this idea, Pope altered his distich, some years afterwards, thus:

*There are few whom Heaven is civil has been profuse,
It's want as much to turn it to its use.*

This case has been exemplified, in the superlative degree, in a man, whose talents are not contemptible, but whose principles are detestable; who never speaks three words, but two of them are false; who never receives a favour, but he ungratefully abuses the donor; who never makes a promise, but with an intention to deceive; who never makes an engagement, but with a design to break it; who has betrayed every confidence with which he has been entrusted; who has robbed his friends, cheated his creditors, repudiated his wife*, and libelled all his acquaintance.

He received his education at Eton, where, from his particular neatness and attention to

* Mr. Jekyll can give the best account of this transaction.

the furniture of his head, he was known by the happy appellation of *Louise*; and at Cambridge, the beauty of a fallow face, enriched with variegated pimples, gained him the additional name of the *Ripe Whitlow*.

Thus distinguished he came to Newmarket; and soon made himself as conspicuous by the purity of his principles, as the elegance of his person. On the turf his confederates could not trust him; and at the hazard-table he never trusted fortune. He practised every manœuvre, and snatched at all advantages. When he won, he was rude and pressing to receive—when he lost, he always disputed the debt, and never paid but upon compulsion: For it is upon record, that the law, disqualifying defaulters from starting horses until the payment of former stakes, had its origin from his tardiness. Unable to keep his ground on the course, he fled to France; and being enamoured of a lady at Paris, he made proposals to her, and purchased the possession of her charms with a forged draft*; then left her to think on what had past, and sigh alone.

* Lord Barrymore can explain this.

A foreign climate no longer suiting our hero, he repaired to London; and resided, occasionally, at his creditors pleasure, in Newgate, in the Fleet, and in the King's Bench. His constant occupation in these retirements, was to write begging letters to the members of the Jockey Club, and in the most humiliating style to supplicate their bounty.

Mr. Charles Fox, who is perhaps one of the best-natured men in the world, made known his situation to the Jockey Club at Newmarket, and recommended, with his irresistible force, an immediate relief. The silver plate went round, and two hundred and thirty guineas were collected, and sent to him in the King's Bench Prison: And other applications were repeatedly successful. For all which, his gratitude has displayed itself in a general libel on the whole society.

Copies of these libels he has occasionally sent to several ladies; some of whom have deprecated his menaces, with presents of Bank paper. Thus, by the sale of his libels, and the purchase of his silence, he boasts that he has levied on the Public upwards of five thousand

thousand pounds. This is his last act ; and if the affair of the draft had been wanting, it is sufficient to set the seal to his character.

In a word, he has lived in a regular violation of the laws of justice, honesty, friendship, gratitude, and every moral obligation. He is detested where he is not despised ; and should the second signing of a name, not his own, consign him to the fate he has once escaped and long deserved, the only regret would be, that a life of such profligacy had not sooner ended in a death of ignominy.

Trahit sua quemque voluptas.

Say, why does —— bear the Loufe's name ?
 His habits and his practice are the same.
 The natural Loufe, by powerful instinct led,
 Finds peace and plenty in the school-boy's head.
 Loufe —— follows the same occupation,
 Lives on the heads of folks in higher station,
 Heads of the Jockey Club, and of the nation*.

}

* Morning Post, May 7, 1792.

THE

THE KING.

NOT one of the present sovereigns of

Europe has been treated by their subjects with so much rudeness as his Majesty of Great-Britain. Nobody can say that the people of these islands do not enjoy liberty, when such pamphlets as the Jockey Club can be daily published with impunity. But it is not in the pens of Wilkes, Junius, or the writer of the Jockey Club, to injure his Majesty's benign and benevolent character. It is not by the praise, or the slander, of such men, that a character, so transcendent in virtue, so free from every kind of vice, can in any degree be affected.

Whatever Lord Bute's defects in politics may have been, he certainly instilled into his royal pupil the purest notions of virtue and religion. Lord Bute is now dead; therefore this small tribute of justice to his memory cannot be called interested. No person has ever performed the duties of a father and a husband, with more exactness and punctuality,

ality, than his Majesty. In private life there are very few who are his equal. These are notorious truths, which every man in the kingdom knows, and therefore they need not be dwelt upon.

With respect to his Majesty's public character, or the exercise of his functions as a sovereign, the law has given him no character. The law says, in *totidem verbis*, "that the king can do no wrong." He is not responsible in the exercise of his regal powers. For the law has very wisely stated and established, that every act of the Crown shall originate in the advice of some one or more of its ministers; and in order to fix this obligation as strong as possible, the law has further declared (see the Act of Settlement) that whatever advice is given to the king, shall be signed by the person who gives it.

When the late Lord Chatham advised his Majesty to recall Lord Bristol from Madrid, he signed the advice he gave. His Lordship describes it himself in these words: "Lord Temple and I submitted in writing, and *signed by us*, our most humble sentiments to his Majesty &c." If this advice had been adopted,

and bad consequences had followed from it, Lord Chatham and Lord Temple would have been responsible; no imputation of error, or design, could have been laid to his Majesty.

If the measures or politics of the present reign have been improvident, and candour must admit that they have been greatly so, the blame is not to be ascribed to the King. Even the affair of America, which the author of the Jockey Club would attribute to the royal interference, can have no foundation in truth; because that war could neither have been begun, nor the measures of its progress have been pursued, without the *original advice* of some privy counsellor. The measure could not come *first* from the King. Can there be a doubt that if the minute-book of the several councils held upon this great subject was examined, that we should find the names of North, Sandwich, &c. &c. signed to all the advice they gave? And is it in the least degree probable, that such men would execute any measures they had not advised? The man who supposes it must stig-

matize their memories with the foulest charge of baseness, as well as meanness.

This law of making ministers responsible, is coëval with our constitution. It is a mistake in whoever supposes it to have been first made at the Revolution: For amongst the many instances which might be produced, we shall take only one—when the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles the First, before the civil war broke out, presented an address to his Majesty on the subject of grievances, the King gave an answer that proved very disagreeable to the Commons; upon which the Commons immediately presented another address to the King, beseeching his Majesty to inform them *who advised him to give that answer*. Thus we see, that the House of Commons, in those days, did not hold the King answerable for even his own words. This responsibility of ministers was regulated at the Revolution. As the law and the constitution now stand, explained and ascertained, nothing can be more clear, than that the King is entirely emancipated from all possibility of imputation on the score of public measures.

To

To add further argument on this subject, would be an idle waste of time and words. Every man of the plainest understanding must see, and be convinced of the entire exclusion of the King from all responsibility respecting the measures of government. And therefore, whatever bad policy they may originate in, or whatever bad consequences may attend them, the King cannot be included in the consideration or arraignment of them.

When we see, therefore, Wilkes, Junius, the author of the Jockey Club, or any other scribbler, ascribing to the King the blame of those measures which constitutionally belongs to his ministers, it indisputably appears, that all such writers, so far from being friends to the Constitution, which they pretend, are directly the reverse; because they make a charge, which, if it were just, would overturn the Constitution. If the King could exercise any power in the formation of measures, the responsibility would belong to him, and not to the ministers. Either way, therefore, these writers are guilty of the most palpable libels—on the King, or on the Constitution.

The writer of the Jockey Club goes greatly out of his way to give an account of the proceedings of the French at Paris. These occurrences have no concern with the King of Great Britain. He has taken no part in the dispute between the French and their King. The writer might, with the same propriety, have introduced an account of the affairs of Poland, or of China. The character of the British Sovereign is not represented by a narrative of events in Paris; events which bear no analogy, either in their motives or consequences, to the state of Great Britain. But it serves to shew the writer's hatred to Kings in general, and to all monarchical government; that he is of the levelling principle, and is an enemy to Kings throughout, because he has not the opportunity of becoming a despot himself; for there is not one of these furious democrats who is not a tyrant at heart. If he had power, he would rule with a more absolute and arbitrary sway than any King whatever. A democratical government is the most arbitrary government upon earth; witness that of our neighbours the Dutch, whose very provisions are excised. These pretended friends of liberty and equality are, in their hearts,

hearts, the greatest tyrants. Where they have power, they are the most severe task-masters. If, in the days of monarchy, such atrocities had been committed as have lately disgraced Paris, and other cities in France, not, perhaps, by the authority of government, but at least by its connivance or permission, all Europe would have resounded with complaints of the shocking abuse of monarchical power. But, at present, all democrats speak of these atrocities with the greatest indifference, as trifling circumstances of the day, not deserving of a moment's reflection.

THE QUEEN.

Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow,
Thou shalt not escape calumny.

IF this amiable and adored Princess had escaped the malignancy and slander of the author of the Jockey Club, it would have been more than a miracle. He who has libelled so much private worth and public virtue, could not, in the general catalogue, omit her Majesty.

jeſty. It would have been as impoſſible to have been guilty of it, as to have omitted the mention of the moon in the general deſcription of a fine night. But it is here, as well as in other places, that the writer fails in his deſign, and his ſatire recoils upon himſelf.

Her Maſteſty's preciſion, in the duties of a wife and mother, are beyond the reach of even ſuſpicion. What, then, is ſhe to be condemned for?—Why, for *œconomy*!

Let every mother in our iſland lay her hand upon her heart, and declare, if ſhe thinks any mother ought to be condemned for *œconomy*, who has had ſo many *daughters*?

The private life of her Maſteſty admits of no reproof. Therefore, this ſpecies of conduct, which, properly ſpeaking, is no public concern (for if her Maſteſty's conduct and management were quite otherwiſe, it would neither increaſe nor diminſh the civil liſt, becauſe her Maſteſty has only a fixed allowance out of that fund), is held up as a matter of criminal import. What pity it is that they cannot produce an act of parliament againſt *œconomy*!

mony ! But, in the words of Shakespear,

True, a pity it is, and pity it is 'tis true,

that this example of œconomy, in the highest situation from whence example should be shewn, has not had a better effect. Examples of virtue and moral rectitude, particularly and most especially in a Queen, who has been the mother of many fine children, ought to have the most powerful and strongest force. The higher the rank, the more observant and the more exemplary the conduct ought to be, particularly in the line of virtue and domestic œconomy. This her Majesty has shewn in the fullest extent.

Happy would it be for many families in gay and splendid life, if their illustrious example were better followed. We should not see so many prosecutions in Doctors Commons ; so many solicitors for pensions and sinecure places ; so many bankruptcies among our merchants and traders ; so many unfortunate dupes of credulity in our prisons ; so many of our manufacturers struggling between land and water, as it were, for a bare subsistence, owing to their losses among those who are usually deno-

denominated great people, or people of fashion. If these, in their household expences and domestic arrangements, imitated her Majesty, their creditors would be diminished in number, and their importance advanced in celebrity.

The charge which the author of the Jockey Club endeavours to fix upon her Majesty, turns upon himself. He therein exhibits the profligacy of his own character; for he is not only willing to shew all disregard to private character himself, but he wishes to destroy it in others.

In political affairs, neither the tongue nor the pen of slander have ever accused her Majesty of the least interference in those matters; not even in the patronage of places; for what political servant has she ever appointed? or what man has she ever influenced on any political question whatever? In this light her Majesty stands clear of all imputation.

Other Queens have been charged with selling of titles, places, and reversions; and strong facts have been urged in support of the charges.

Wagers of large sums, it has been said, have been occasionally laid on the advancement of certain gentlemen to the peerage, and on the appointments of certain persons to particular situations.

In a late reign these practices were common; and some queens, as well as some mistresses, have amassed large private fortunes by them. But her present Majesty has never been suspected of such corrupt and interested practices. She has made no connections with any of the public offices; the persons in them are as much strangers to her Majesty's person, as the inhabitants of the most distant county.

As, therefore, nothing could be said that had any foundation in truth, against her present Majesty, the author of the Jockey Club resorts to fiction. Some of his admirers say that he writes in a very flowery and poetic style. It is a literary proverb, that fiction shines best in that style. He says, she fills a rank that her birth gave her no right to expect. This is not true: For no longer ago than in the last century, the House of Mecklenburgh was as respectable as the House of Hanover; and might have been

so at this day, if the House of Hanover had not been called to the throne of Great Britain. But this Princess was chosen for her merit: Her ancestry made no part of the consideration.

It is easy to see, that a writer must be greatly distressed for calumny, who makes the ornaments of female attire the subject of slander.

Her Majesty's *diamonds* !—These are the subject.—The Queen is not the first lady who has ornamented a full dress with diamonds. Every other lady would do the same if she could. The habit of the Queen is not a matter of public concern; nor is it a question affecting any public interest, whether her Majesty's habit is ornamented with *diamonds*, or with gold and silver fringe.—But *diamonds* have for some time been a theme in certain newspapers; and therefore the author of the Jockey Club, having no better subject, pursues this vulgar thesis. Vulgar the subject may be truly denominated, because only vulgar or misled persons could ever suppose the matter or thing a proper object for calumny. And it is surprising that any person, who pretends to have

have ever been a member of the Jockey Club, could descend to so ungentlemanlike a species of reproach; seeing that all men alike, from the highest to the lowest, warmly admire the advantageous appearance of the female part of their families.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

IF the Stuart line had not been completely extinct, every reader of the Jockey Club must have been persuaded that the writer of that work was as zealous and fierce a Jacobite as any of the rebels who were executed in the years 1715 and 1745; for he spares none of the line of Brunswick, either immediate or remote from the throne; he lays about him indiscriminately.

His Royal Highness, whose heart is ever open, and whose hand is ever ready to relieve distress, shares, with his friends, the effusions and effects of this writer's ingratitude. Those who have administered to his necessities are among the foremost of those whom he has most calumniated. His selections for obloquy are made by the rule, or rather the extent of his obligations. Those who have been his best friends, and who have contributed liberally to his wants, are those whom he reviles first, and most. As there are degrees in ingratitude, as well as in other vices, so this may be called the superlative degree of that depravity. His
Royal

Royal Highness's character, like all other great characters, may be expressively given in a few words :

Plain truth—needs no flow'rs of speech.

In plain words, then, this Prince is the first of his house who has had a most excellent and classical education. When, upon a well-known misunderstanding, Lord Bruce, now Lord Aylebury, was appointed preceptor to his Royal Highness, his Lordship found the Prince a better classic than himself; and in the other qualifications of the well-bred gentleman, so much superior to all the young people of fashion, as of any expectation he could have formed, that he almost immediately found himself so inadequate to the perfection, or even continuation, of his Royal Highness's education, that he waited upon the King, in a few days after his appointment, and implored his Majesty's clemency to permit him to resign his place of preceptor; because, as he confessed, his Royal Highness's education was far superior to his own. This was in the year 1776: Since which, his Royal Highness has wonderfully improved in all the elegant accomplishments of the complete gentleman. To soften Lord Bruce's fall, he was created Earl of Aylebury.

His

His Royal Highness is also the first Prince of his house who has seen the people of this kingdom. He has conversed with them—associated with them—lived with them at their houses. They have conversed and associated with him. The intercourse has been mutual and frequent. He has thus acquired a real and true knowledge of the people. This most interesting of all information he has acquired by personal acquaintance and experience; by ocular conviction. These are advantages which no Prince of the House of Brunswick had ever obtained. They knew not our language; and besides, there is, amongst the Germans in general, a sort of feudal hauteur, which does not suit with our natural and good-humoured familiarity. This necessary distinction his Royal Highness has happily made.

These are prominent traits of his character, which the present age have seen with inexpressible pleasure, and revere with the enthusiasm of veneration. The nation considers them the fortunate preface of a glorious reign.

The

The writer of the Jockey Club, who must have some topic for his slander, arraigns his Royal Highness's socialities. He conceives that his Royal Highness is there vulnerable; or at least that he shall thereby attach some part of the public attention, by holding out a private consideration, with a view to forget a public one. It must be confessed, that this peculiar kind of abuse operates both ways, as well on the party who accepts of such associates, as on those who are accepted. But in this distinction of the persons who are so highly honoured by his Royal Highness, there is a qualification annexed, which no rank or fortune can give; this is their mental capacity, or, in other words, their brilliant talents, sound sense, and extraordinary understanding. When we see a Prince, the heir apparent of the British throne, selecting for his convivial hours such men as Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Captain Payne, &c. &c. who does not say that he makes a most judicious choice? If he were to chuse some of our young gentlemen of fashion for his occasional associates, who would not lament his want of penetration, and feel an interest in his want of discernment

cernment to distinguish the man of parts from the man of pride? By the choice he has made, even his hours of conviviality contribute to the improvement of his mind. He can be in no danger of imbibing erroneous principles of politics, or misconceptions of our constitution, from men of such enlarged and liberal understanding as Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan.—Happy would it have been for mankind, if every prince in Europe had finished his education under men of equal ability, philanthropy, and integrity.

A Prince of such expectations, and such endowments, has no parallel in history for moderation. When every incitement to ambition and glory offered itself spontaneously—in a moment of public exigence, he more than hesitated—he submitted to a participation of the diadem—taking the whole of the responsibility, and only sharing the power with another. This complacency of his conduct will be the theme of admiration in all posterity. The author of the Jockey Club insinuates something of the conduct of the Queen in this matter. She might act from her feelings as a wife
and

and a mother. But the generosity of the Prince transcends all comment. Rather than wound the feelings of his mother, or disappoint the hopes of the nation, who had their first claim upon him, he consented to accept a mutilated government, under the most alarming circumstances, and popular apprehensions. In the consideration of this ever-memorable circumstance, there will always be found, not only an unexampled generosity and philanthropy in the Prince, but a most dutiful respect to the Queen his mother, cemented by an anxious solicitude for the interests and happiness of the country. Such instances of true patriotism are not often seen amongst princes. Nor are princes, of such pure and sincere regard for the people, often seen in courts. That his Royal Highness is one of these rare instances, is well known to those who have had the honour of viewing his character.

Of this Prince there is only one thing wanting, and that is, a better acquaintance with his natural disposition.

A more humane heart in private life, a more accomplished gentleman in public rank,

E

a more

a more sincere friend to his country, or one better informed of the character and disposition of the people, and of the principles and spirit of the constitution, is not to be found among all the young gentlemen of the present age.

This is not spoken of him as a Prince, to whom the venal are always ready to offer adulation, but as a private gentleman, by one who has observed his conduct for several years.

Hæc tibi erunt artes ———

Parcere subjeclis, et debellare superbes. VIRG.

THE DUKE OF YORK.

HIS Royal Highness's military character is without impeachment. His private character requires no elucidation. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* CIC.

DUKE

DUKE OF CLARENCE.

—COME thou goddess, fair and free,
 In heaven yclep'd Euphrosyne
 And if I give thee honour due,
 Mirth, admit me of thy crew;
 To live with her and live with thee,
 In unreprieved pleasures free. MILTON.

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Non est vivere, sed valere, vita. MART.

THIS Prince might have been spared in the Jockey Club. The state of his Royal Highness's health, and bodily infirmities, are well known. The introduction of him, therefore, among the heroes of the turf, was a sort of savage barbarity. It can be accounted for only by supposing, that the writer had taken a resolution to libel the whole family; and he seems to have done it with uncommon malignity, as well as acrimony. However, what he says of this Prince merits no attention.

DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

Fœminis prælata.

IT might be asked, what relation does her Royal Highness bear to the Jockey Club, that entitles her to a place in it? The answer would be, *None*. Yet it serves the writer's purpose; having given a niche in his Belvedere to the Duke, he must give another to the Duchess. It makes food for calumny. No other reason can be assigned for inserting either of their names in the Jockey Club. As well might he have included also their Royal Highness's son and daughter, Prince William and Princess Sophia.

Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

DUCHESS OF CUMBERLAND.

Amicitie Anima.

IT would have been a miracle indeed, if this most amiable Duchess had not had a place among such a group of splendid characters

raeters as is to be found in the Jockey Club. But no situation can dishonour her who never was dishonoured. Truly estimable among the happy, truly virtuous among the gay, her presence is ever courted, ever esteemed. It is not forgot, that the late Duke's finances were greatly deranged when he married this very sensible and most charming woman. With a complacency that reflects the highest honour upon her character, she condescended to undertake the superintendence of his affairs. She, with a penetration not usual to those in elevated situations, saw her husband plundered by rapacity; official duties were neglected, ignorant subalterns were substituted, and, in a word, all the abuses of trust were practised in every department. All these her Royal Highness reformed and corrected; and established a system of œconomy and regulation, by which incumbrances were discharged, emancipation was obtained, and the Royal rank, so far from being degraded, was honoured and supported by additional splendour. Happy would it be for many people of fashion, if their ladies possessed the good sense, the œconomy, and elevated ideas of the Duchesses of Cumberland!

MRS.

MRS. FITZHERBERT.

*Sweetest delight of human kind,
Bred on high,
To crown the favourites of the sky,
With more of happiness below
Than victors in a triumph know.*

PARNEL.

WHEN the Prince is attacked, Mrs. Fitzherbert must be brought forward as a matter of course. It is not whether she deserves it, that makes any part of the consideration. In these things the propriety is not adverted to; nor does the writer of the Jockey Club care a straw whether Mrs. Fitzherbert is truly or falsely represented; a representation of some sort must be set forth, and invention must supply the place of fact. The pages must be filled; and it is no difficult thing to a man who has lived in all situations, who has been an inhabitant of so many jails, who has been guilty of so many enormities, who never possessed a single atom of either virtue or honesty, to write whole sheets of abuse and slander.

Of Mrs. Fitzherbert it is not necessary to say much. Her moral character is untouched. It is invulnerable. It is out of the reach
of

of calumny. Her numerous friends, of the fairest characters and highest stations, bear ample and public testimony of this truth. Her family and relations are all persons of unspotted purity.

Whatever the influence of a most amiable lady may be, we know, from the disappointments of a thousand applications, that no use has been made of it, in any appointments, regulations, or measures, of any kind; well aware, as she undoubtedly must be, that any interference from her, even in the minutiae, would be immediately, by the representations of the envious and the malignant, swelled into a crime of the greatest enormity. No person has, therefore, attempted to fix, or to make any accusation of this sort. No abuse of private influence, no abuse of public interest, can attach to her character; because there is not the shadow of a foundation, nor the pretence of a suspicion, for either. She knows,

*Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
Lie in three words, health, peace, and competence.* POPE.

Admired where she is seen, esteemed where she is known, beloved by her friends, and respected by all.

DUKE

DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

Campis bene notus et Aulis.

THIS Duke is no member of the Jockey Club, and consequently every reader must be surpris'd to find him included in it. But this Duke having been engaged in a political or rather military measure inimical to the politics of the writer of the Jockey Club, he recommends for that reason, and for that reason only, the assassination of his Serene Highness. Now although it is no matter what cause the Duke of Brunswick is engaged in, or has been engaged in, it is certainly true, that assassination is neither the proper reward, nor the proper punishment, of such conduct. No person who calls himself the friend of mankind can approve of the Duke's accepting of a command, that had for its object the overthrow of a mode of government which a great nation had chosen for itself. But it must be remembered, that his Highness's former conduct, particularly under his great relation the late Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, was highly splendid and glorious, and shewed him to be a commander of the greatest gallantry and bravery.

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

*Non intelligunt homines quam vizigal sit
parsimonia. TULL.*

THE writer of the Jockey Club lays a heavy charge against his Grace, viz. *That he is frugal*. Might not his Grace reply in the above words of Tully?——It is more than probable, that our dissipated author has applied to the Duke for money, and has been treated not so well as he deserved; that is, he has only been refused. From this circumstance he affirms, the Duke is parsimonious.

The circumstance reflects honour upon his Grace's discernment and judgment. To his family, to all deserving objects, and to his tenants, no man is more tender and liberal than the Duke of Bedford.

There is another circumstance that also reflects great honour upon his Grace. It is said that he avoids all *deep play*.

The writer of the Jockey Club is highly offended that none of his brother-black-legs, can obtain any part of the Duke's estate to share amongst them. They are exceedingly disappointed in their wishes, and hence arises their silly and impotent abuse. The Duke may reply *hostis honoris invidia*.

DUKE OF DORSET.

———*Multorum vidit et urbes.*

THE private character of this Nobleman is like that of many other of his standing and fashion, chequered with one or two venial blemishes, but with no capital vices. His public character is not stained by any series of conduct, or single transaction, that has deserved or produced the smallest reproach. His Grace may therefore despise the shafts of envy and malice.

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Bene præparatum pectus.

THIS Noble Duke has borne a public part in the State, as well as at Newmarket. The writer of the Jockey Club says nothing of his Grace's conduct at the latter, consequently we may justly conclude there is no room for censure on that head. His Grace's character as a Minister, is like that of every other Minister, liable to a great deal of misrepresentation. But *murus æneus conscientia sana*. The malevolence of Junius was exhibited at an unpopular time. But the writings of Junius had no more influence on the Duke of Grafton, than the writings of Wilkes had upon Lord Bute. It suited the purposes of party to say, that those writers drove these ministers from the helm. But the fact is otherwise, for Lord Bute resigned *voluntarily*, as soon as he had finished the business he came in to

execute, which was the making of the peace. And the Duke of Grafton resigned, because he disapproved of the measures preparing against America,

DUKE OF LEEDS.

*Rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem
quot Thebarum porta, vel divitis ostia Nili.*

JUV.

IF a Nobleman of the most amiable manners and disposition, whose private life defies the insinuation of calumny, and whose public conduct has throughout been consistent, upright, and honourable, cannot escape the slander of the writer of the Jockey Club; he must have taken a resolution to abuse, revile, and vilify all mankind. To supply what he does not know, he invents; and what he invents is false. In a word, the Duke of Leeds is one of the most respectable characters in the British Peerage.

DUKE

DUKE OF MONTROSE.

THIS Nobleman is slated to have committed two capital faults. One is, he was born on the North side of the Tweed ; and the other is, that he is the friend of Mr. Pitt. The best answer to such trash, is—*vultus animum indicat.*

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Comitatus sui decus.

WITH the writer of the Jockey Club, his Grace's only crime is the same as that of his noble relation the Duke of Bedford. They are both guilty of the horrid crime of withholding their estates, from the villainous gripe of Gamblers. The very honourable and dignified deportment which the noble Duke preserves is highly offensive to all the Swindling Societies of Sharks, Rooks, and Blacklegs. His Grace does not condescend

descend to associate with any of them. He never bets nor games—consequently he is food for malevolence, acrimony, and slander. But

He jests at scars who ne'er received a wound.

SHAK.



DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Contendisse decorum est.

THE inconsistency of the writer of the Jockey Club, is perfectly consistent with his slander. He condemns the very thing in one page, which he warmly recommends in another. He shews, or affects to shew, in one part of his work, the necessity of a Reform of Parliament. And under the name of this premier Duke, he condemns and reviles the attempt, or first step to accomplish that Reform. If ever any reform is obtained, the necessity of which is so

strongly held out by the writer of the Jockey Club, this noble Duke must be a principal instrument in it—like the Duke of Orleans in the French Revolution. But this random writer makes no distinction. He shews no discretion. Friend or foe—it is all one—so it is but a great name to vent spleen upon. No matter the subject. What is deprecated in one page, is reprobated in another. The noble Duke's hilarity and the preceding Duke's reserve, are equally matters of condemnation. Such inconsistent censure can fix no stigma, can describe no vice, but that which is lodged in the writer's own depravity.

DUKE

DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Spes Almæ Matris.

RESPECTED wherever he is known. Beloved by every one—*ab omnibus amatus*.—It was impossible to find or to invent, under any tolerable pretence, slander or censure upon this almost peerless character.—Where no charge either has been, or can be brought, no defence is necessary. No man can stand higher in estimation in private life; and, in the public sphere, his virtue and integrity are proverbial.

DUKE

DUKE OF QUEENSBURY.

Artium Fautor.

THERE is no pleasing the writer of the Jockey Club. Some of the preceding Noblemen have been condemned for parsimony. This noble Duke is a *bon vivant*, and his Grace is condemned also; so that it matters not, whether you are æconomical or otherwise, you are equally liable to an undistinguishing indiscriminate judgment that showers down censure at random—that makes no difference between those who have administered to his necessities, and those who have not; or if at any time he does, it is in favour of the latter, with a view of obtaining the donation of a few guineas from them, which he knows will never be repeated by the former. Can we regard the malignity of a character so superlatively base and worthless?

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Quæ Regio in Terris, nostra non plena laboris?

AFTER reviling so many great and spotless characters, it must surprise every reader to find a panegyric, where he would least expect it. But the writer admits his Grace to be unpopular; and therefore to shew that he is resolved to be in eternal opposition to all public opinion, he abuses the Duke of Leeds, and praises the Duke of Richmond.

One subject of the writer's panegyric, is his Grace's opinion on a Reform of Parliament. On this subject, good men as well as great men, differ. But his Grace's ideas are best given in his own language. They are contained in the following :

COPY

COPY OF A LETTER FROM HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

To the Chairman of a Meeting of the County of Suffex, convened at Lewes, January 18, 1783, for the purpose of presenting a Petition to the House of Commons, to take into consideration the unequal State of Representation in Parliament.

Whitehall, Jan. 17, 1783.

“ SIR,

“ YOU may easily believe, that being one of those who joined in requesting you to call a County Meeting, nothing but illness can prevent my attending it, and it is with infinite regret I submit to the decision of my physicians, who pronounce that it is not safe for me to leave London.

“ I trust that my sentiments on the subject of *Parliamentary Reform* are in general sufficiently known, and that without further assurances I might be *depended upon for giving it every support in my power*; but some circumstances made me wish to state them as briefly as possible to the County of Suffex. They are formed on the *experience of twenty six years*, which, whether in or out

of government, has equally convinced me, that the *restoration of a genuine House of Commons*, by a *renovation of the Rights of the People*, is the *only effectual remedy* against that *system of Corruption*, which has brought the Nation to disgrace and poverty, and threatens it with the *loss of Liberty*.

“ I take the grievance of the present state of Election, to be its *gross inequality*. All the Electors in Great Britain do not amount to *one sixth* part of the whole people, and a still *greater inequality* subsists in Elections made by that sixth part; for *one-seventh part* of them elect a majority, so that *one-forty-second* part of the Nation dispose of the *property of the whole*, and have their *lives and liberties at command*. And this forty-second part, far from consisting of the most opulent part of the kingdom, is composed of the small Boroughs, most of which are become either the private property of individuals, or are *notoriously sold* to the best bidder; so that the *Counties and great Cities* are, in fact, as well as the *great mass of the people*, swallowed up by a *system of corruption*.

“ My ideas of reform undoubtedly go to one that shall be *complete*, and *general throughout the kingdom*. I see such fatal consequences arise from the present partial
and

and accidental state of election, that I cannot take upon me to propose any new mode that partakes of the same defects. If we do not differ from the *abettors of corruption* upon the broad principle of inequality in Election, and the UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO BE REPRESENTED, and are contending only for a degree of partiality, more or less, I fear our ground is not sound; if we mean only to substantiate partiality for partiality, and are struggling but for its extent, one man's whim may be as good as another's conceit, and we have nothing certain to direct us; and if inequality is still to subsist, the advocates of the present system will have the sanction of time and the risk of changes, to oppose to us, which will have their weight when it is but for a change of partiality that we contend.

“ I have thought that a *Parliamentary Reform* had much more simple and unerring guides to lead us to our end; I mean the *true principles of the Constitution, and the Rights of the People*. If these exist, I do not consider myself at liberty to speculate upon systems, I have no choice, but to give to every man his own.

“ How far it is wise for those who entirely agree in principles upon the RIGHTS OF MEN, to endeavour to persuade them that the

the recovery of their birth rights, and most essential interests “ are not reducible to practice, nor attainable by any regular, or constitutional efforts of theirs,” is what I must leave others to determine. But the truth of this assertion is what I can never subscribe to. I cannot but think that this Nation ever had it in its own power, by *peaceful and constitutional efforts to do itself justice*; and that nothing can render attempts for this purpose impracticable, but either a GENERAL INDOLENCE *and* INDIFFERENCE TO ALL THAT REQUIRES EXERTION, though for the NOBLEST PURPOSES, or prejudice to favourite systems as shall divide the people.

“ To guard against such an imputation falling on me, I am most ready to agree to an Address in the most general terms, not pointing to any specific mode of Reform in the Petition, or by instructions to our Members, or by Resolutions, but submitting the remedy, as in my opinion it ought to be, in the first instance, to parliament itself; which I conceive to be, at least, as equal to such a consideration, as any Provincial Committee.

“ Should Mr. Wyvil’s first or second plan be proposed in parliament, or any thing like it, although I shall lament, that we, for
a mo-

a moment, quit our advantageous ground of the CONSTITUTION *and the RIGHTS OF MEN*, yet I shall certainly give every support in my power to this or any other amendment, and it certainly will be a considerable improvement, that instead of a *forty-second*, it should be a *thirty-sixth* or *thirtieth* part that shall decide the concerns of the *whole people*. It will be something material they will have gained, and may become a *step to the more easy attainment of their full privileges*.

“ I shall most sincerely hope that that plan may be found attainable: but I never can consent to tell the people, and *I hope in God they never will believe that the recovery of any right which Nature and the Constitution has given them, is impracticable.*— On the contrary, *convinced myself*, I wish them ever to believe, that *whenever they please to claim them, they WILL and MUST* have the FULL EXTENT OF THEIR RIGHTS.

“ I have thought it necessary to say thus much on an impression I cannot think indifferent the public should entertain.

“ The measure for which you are assembled meets with my hearty concurrence; and I shall be happy if these my sentiments,
which

which I beg you would communicate to the Meeting of the County of Suffex, should meet with their approbation.

“ It is with the highest esteem and regard that I have the honour to be,

“ SIR,

Your most obedient

And humble Servant,

RICHMOND, &c.”

To William Frankland, Esq.

High Sheriff of the County of Suffex.

W

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

Factis, non Verbis.

THE writer of the Jockey Club has made a laboured defence of this nobleman, some parts of which we shall not dispute; because, it is not the design of this work to calumniate any one. His Lordship is undoubtedly a great character; but it is chequered with instances of inconstancy and inconsistency. He set out with an attachment to Lord Bute, whom he afterwards abandoned. He quarrelled with Lord Holland on a point of veracity. He supported Lord Bute's peace, and afterwards adopted Lord Chatham's politics. And early in the year 1772 he offered to abandon Lord Chatham, but the Court would not accept of him. He made Mr. Pitt Minister and now opposes him. He offered a little while ago, to join the Party then called "The Armed Neutrality," but they rudely answered, "They intended to preserve their characters." Yet, notwithstanding all these

H

little

little blemishes, his Lordship is, what the world calls a great man. He can speak two hours upon a subject, and when he has done no man can decide whether he meant to support or oppose it. No Peer is more nervous and powerful in debate—when he has made up his mind; but his Lordship is apt to refine too much, which occasions a sort of versatilitv in his conduct, that throws great distrust on his opinions and politics.

His knowledge of foreign affairs and foreign courts is unequalled. It is superior and better than that of any other person in either House of Parliament. But with all this knowledge, united with great talents, he wants the knowledge of mankind. When he took the head of the treasury in 1782, his first step should have been a dissolution of Parliament. He would thereby have secured his situation. But he saw not his own danger, or more properly speaking, he did suspect what he ought to have known to a certainty, the disposition of the House of Commons; and it does not seem to have

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occurred to his memory, that the House of Commons he accepted, had been elected by Lord North, who being gone into opposition, would consequently carry all his friends with him.

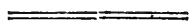
Lord Lansdowne during his short administration assumed the majesty of Lord Chatham. But he either forgot, or did not know, that when Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) was made Minister in 1758, he *had* coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle, by whom the Parliament had been elected, and consequently the Duke's majority was transferred to Lord Chatham, which Lord Chatham himself thus describes, "I borrowed the Duke of Newcastle's majority" to carry on the public business." *See the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham's Life.* If the Duke of Newcastle had gone into opposition, Mr. Pitt must have dissolved the Parliament. The best apology, therefore, that can be made for Lord Lansdowne in this matter, is, that he fell a sacrifice to his own confidence

H

EARL

EARL OF BARRYMORE.

*Lufisti fatis, atque bilifti;
Tempus abire tibi eft.* HOR.



EARL CLERMONT.

Turpi fecernit honeftum.



EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

Jocosus et Prudens.

HAS the happy merit of being a facetious companion, and an excellent bon vivant. The joke, the jeu d'esprit, and the glass, all set the table on a roar. But mirth excites the choler of our cynic. He cannot endure any person to partake of pleasure—it is a heresy worse than Judaism. Yet he affects to lament the execution of some criminals, whom the law had consigned to an ignominious death. The circumstance
has

has no relation to the noble Earl. But it is foisted in to supply the want of other matter, and his Majesty is most grossly and irreverently treated upon a supposition that he ought to have pardoned them. To have pardoned them from the mere peculiarity of the period, and not from any merits in the case, would have been denominated a denial of justice, and a prostitution of favour; neither of which can be charged upon any of those servants who have usually advised the Crown upon any of these occasions.



EARL OF COVENTRY.

Meminisse juvat.

WHEN a man writes to gratify his malice or to feed the vulgar appetite for slander, it is indifferent what he says, either to himself, or to the reader of the characters he pretends to delineate. If he knows but little of them, which is in general the case, he may misrepresent

present some truth, or if this is not very easy, he can supply the omission, by an ample invention of falsehood and abuse. And by concealing his name, he conceives that he may indulge with security and safety in the most extravagant licentiousness. If a man sets his name to his work, the world knowing his character for veracity, will, according to the goodness or badness of that, give credit or refuse it, to what he says of others, POPE says very justly.

Let such teach others, who themselves excel.

Which in plain prose signifies, Let none presume to blame others, who are not themselves free from faults.

If the writer of the Jockey Club had observed this maxim, he would not have wasted so much time and labour in misrepresenting and libelling many of the best and fairest characters in our Island.

Lord Coventry's character for humanity and philanthropy is too well-known too elucidation or quire any vindication.

EARL OF CHATHAM.

—*Uno avulso, non deficit alter*
Aureus.—

THE world will not thank the writer of the Jockey Club for his portrait of this noble Earl. If he inherits not the eloquence of his noble father, he possesses all his ardour of mind, all his spirit of action, and all his courage in conflict. Lord Dorchester can testify the last in his Lordship's behaviour in Canada, particularly between the river St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, where his Lordship, though in a subordinate situation, behaved with an intrepidity that is unequalled.

The firmness and spirit of his Lordship's conduct in Canada, in more than one or two instances during the American war, are notorious. They are well known to the British army, and to the Americans.

His Lordship is now at the head of the British Admiralty, and the writer of the Jockey Club tells us, that no person ought to hold this post but a seaman. It is not necessary here to dispute the propriety or
im-

impropriety of this position, but, if a judgment may be formed of it from some recent and well known facts, all the difficulty will lie in a very narrow compass. It has been admitted, by every seaman of character, that the business of the admiralty was never so well attended, nor so impartially administered, as during the administrations of Lord Egmont and Lord Sandwich; nor, compared with them, so badly, as during the administrations of Sir Charles Saunders, Lord Hawke, Lord Howe, and Lord Keppel. It is, perhaps, not a vulgar error, but at least it is a recent one to say, that a professional man ought to be head of the board of Admiralty.

From the restoration of Charles the Second, to the present day, the majority of the heads of this department have been landmen. And, during this period, the fleet of Great Britain has made the most brilliant figure. A few of the names of these landmen are (for it is proper to recite them lest the fact should be disputed) as follows :

Prince

Prince Rupert, Lord Nottingham, Lord Pembroke, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Oxford, Lord Bridgwater, Prince of Denmark, Lord Strafford, Lord Berkeley, Lord Winchelsea, Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, Lord Temple, Lord Halifax, George Grenville, Lord Egmont, and Lord Chatham.

If any neglect of duty, or abuse of power could have been charged on the last mentioned nobleman, there can be no doubt the charge would have been displayed in the brightest colours, for he who has not spared his friends, who has portrayed them in language the most unjust as well as the most ungrateful, we may be assured, would not have shewn the smallest lenity to those who have the honour to be totally unknown to him, and to share his contemptible and avowed disapprobation.

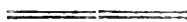
EARL OF DERBY.

Amicorum Deliciæ.

THIS noble Earl is one of the writer's own friends to liberty and conviviality :—
 “More si d against than sinning.”

Few men have more friends than the Earl of Derby. Scarcely any man is more respected by those friends ; yet neither this general character, which is universally known to be true, nor his several acts of benevolence to the writer of the Jockey Club, are sufficient to protect the noble Earl from the ungrateful malignity of his pen. The neighbourhood of Knowsley, and all Lancashire, can testify his Lordship's private worth. All those who have had the honour of his Lordship's association, have been witnesses of the amiable qualities of his heart ; all those who have attended to public affairs, have observed the purity of his Lordship's conduct in parliament. *Quo virtus, quo ferat error?*

HOR,



EARL OF EGREMONT.

Stat per se.

WHERE nothing is blamed, nothing is to be defended.

EARL

EARL GROSVENOR.

Pro Patria semper.

HIS paternal and fraternal regards are well known. They reflect honour upon his character and conduct.

EARL OF HARRINGTON.

Mens Sana in Corpore Sano.

IN this instance, the writer of the Jockey Club has not deviated from truth; he might have said more, but he could not say less of this amiable and much esteemed nobleman. He must be an immaculate character indeed, who transcends Lord Harrington in virtue and honour.

EARL OF LEICESTER.

Præbet Titulis honorem.

WHEN the Marquis (then Viscount) Townshend heard that his eldest son was created an Earl, he said, " Though he precedes me here, I hope he will not precede

me in Heaven." The father is now out of his pain, by being advanced to the dignity of Marquis. This honour to the father, was an old promise that ought to have been performed several years before it was.

The Earl of Leicester is accused of parsimony, which, being translated into plain English, is as follows :

His Lordship has refused to administer to the extravagancies of the unprincipled writer of the Jockey Club.



EARL OF UPPER OSSORY.

Culpæ non affinis ulli.

IT is a well known truth, that when a Gentleman has sufficient property and influence to return himself member for the county in which he lives, he must be a member of great respectability and interest of character, as well as of great esteem in both private and public life ; and that such is the character and situation of Lord Ossory, every one who knows the county of Bedford, or his Lordship, can say is true.

LORD

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT.

Peregrinis magnus in iudus.

A great diplomatic character, who has ever upheld the honour of the crown, and the rights of the nation, at home and abroad.

However strong, just, and natural his attachment to his uncle may be, yet it is highly to his Lordship's honour, that this attachment has no influence upon his conduct in parliament—witness the warm support his Lordship gave to Mr. Fox's libel bill.

At the last general election his Lordship was honoured with the flattering distinction of having the greatest number of votes in his favour, although he had not the support of the ministry. This honourable confidence of his brother Peers, was not more a tribute to his superior merit, than a public proof of their high opinion of his great talents and strict integrity.

LORD AUCKLAND.

Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus.

THIS noble Lord was a student in the Temple. He was selected from thence for his merit, and he has risen to his present situation and honour, purely by his merit. His attachment to Lord Carlisle, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is well known and remembered. And whatever merit there was in, or whatever advantage was intended to have been derived to the public from the union of Mr. Fox and Lord North, or the famous coalition as it was called at that time, is a truth very well known within all the circles of fashion, that the credit and advantages of that measure, were exclusively the right of Lord Auckland. He carried on and settled the whole negotiation, and infinite pains and trouble he took in it : for it required no small share of address and abilities to reconcile such jarring interests, such opposition of sentiment, such different attachments, such distinct views, in short, every thing that could be included under the word obstacle, was to be

be overcome and done away. Whether the Public saw the measure in the light that it was intended to operate, does not affect the character of the negotiator.—The consequences of the measure did not belong to him. He faithfully performed what he undertook.

From this circumstance, Mr. Pitt became acquainted with his Lordship's abilities in negotiation; and, from the private use of individuals, he wished to transfer them to the use of the public. He detached Lord Auckland from the opposition, and accomplished his object. It is certainly more honourable to his Lordship, and more advantageous to the country, that his talents should be employed in the service of the nation, in preference to that of party.

His Lordship early devoted a great part of his attention to the study and acquaintance of that great science Commerce, which, of all others, is most interesting to the natives of these kingdoms. He improved and extended his knowledge in this science, during his residence in America and Ireland,

land, and afterwards in England, by an almost constant intercourse for some years, and frequent conferences with many of the first manufacturers in different branches, Messrs. Wedgwood, Boulton, Walker, &c. &c. Thus qualified, no man in the kingdom was so proper to undertake the negotiation of a commercial treaty with France. For this purpose Mr. Pitt sent him to Paris, and the hopes and expectations of the nation were in no part disappointed. The contents of that treaty are too well known to be repeated here; but the wisdom, policy, and equity of the treaty, will be an indelible monument of his skill, judgment, and prudence.

His long residence at the Hague, which is the most difficult, arduous, and hazardous situation of all our foreign ministers, is the most unequivocal proof of his talents and address for a great diplomatic character.



LORD FOLEY.

Post nubila Phœbus.

LORD

LORD GRENVILLE.

*Me Pater Æneas, et Avunculus excitat
Hector.*

THIS nobleman is the second son of that great minister the late Mr. Grenville. He was early introduced into public business—has been Speaker of the House of Commons, and is now Secretary of State for the Foreign Department; in which situations, as well as in every other he has been, he has acquitted himself highly to his own honour, and to the advantage of his country. Descended from a family renowned for great and respectable talents, his Lordship inherits from them a warm and sincere attachment to the interests of these kingdoms and their dependencies, as well as a manly and patriotic spirit to uphold their credit and consequence in the vast eye of all foreign countries. His attention to all the foreign ministers, is at once polite and dignified, becoming not more his rank, than the elevated situation of a splendid, happy, and powerful nation.

K

LORD

LORD HAWKESBURY.

Tramite Recto.

IF this motto does not point to public measures, it will at least apply to his Lordship's *ultimatum*.

When at Oxford, he was intended for the church; but writing some squibs in support of the Whig interest in the Oxfordshire election of 1754, he was taken notice of by Lord Harcourt, and by his Lordship introduced to Lord Holdernesse, at that time Secretary of State, who made him a supernumary clerk in his office. By Dr. Barton, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, to whom he was distantly related, he was introduced to Lord Portsmouth, who countenanced him a good deal. In the year 1757, when the militia was raised, he wrote a pamphlet in support of that measure; next year, when the Dutch ships were taken on account of their carrying stores to France, he wrote a pamphlet in support of that measure also. This pamphlet happening to please Mr. George Grenville, then Treasurer

Treasurer of the Navy, he took the author to the Duke of Newcastle, and absolutely insisted on his Grace giving him some reward. There being at that time, no place vacant the Duke gave him a pension of five hundred pounds a year: and soon afterwards he was put upon the establishment in the Secretary of State's office. He acquitted himself so well in the duties of the office, that when Lord Bute came in, upon the removal of Lord Holderneffe, he was advanced in the office, and Lord Bute made him his confidential Secretary. And when Lord Bute went to the Treasury, he took him with him, and continued him in the same capacity. He was made Auditor to the Princess of Wales, the salary of which, together with his pension, he still enjoys. His other places have been all given to him since that time. He was of singular service to Lord Bute in the dispute which he had with the city of London, concerning the excise upon Cyder. And he has been upon all occasions, the Elève and Agent of that noble Lord. To this attachment is to

be ascribed, the extraordinary countenance with which he has been honoured by his Majesty, also his Peerage and numerous places. His influence over public measures, especially during the American War (and there are persons who say it is not diminished at this day, particularly in the Slave Trade), was absolute and uncontrollable. This has not failed to create him many enemies, for all favourites have enemies. Envy and reproach are the inseparable concomitants of favouritism.

LORD KENYON.

— *Genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

THIS noble Lord was raised to his present high station and to the Peerage, by the necessity of the times, and the favour of the late Lord Chancellor. The first was fortuitous, the last was honourable.

LORD

LORD ONSLOW.

Vitæ benè actæ jucundissima recordatio est.

THIS noble Lord was bred in the Whig principles of the late reign. He began his public career with opposing Lord Bute, and supporting John Wilkes. But when Lord Rockingham came into administration, in 1765, his Lordship saw there was not so much danger in the measures of the Court, as he at first had apprehended; he took a place, and has become reconciled to St. James's ever since.



LORD THURLOW.

—*Non tamen irritum,
Quodcunque retro est efficiet, neque
Deffinget, infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.*

THIS noble Lord owes his elevation to a circumstance but very little known.

When General Wolfe was killed at Quebec, (who by the bye, has been much more honoured than he merited, for a few hours before the action he complained of being cold, General Monkton gave him some brandy, and he drank so freely he was literally intoxicated,) the command devolved upon General Townshend, now Marquis Townshend. Upon this occasion somebody wrote a severe pamphlet on General Townshend's conduct at Quebec. It was called a Letter to a Brigadier General, and as it also contained a sort of of side-wind, but ample vindication of Lord George Sackville's conduct at Minden, the pamphlet was generally ascribed to his Lordship. At this time Lord Thurlow, then Mr. Thurlow, was a young barrister in the Temple: And it has been generally understood and believed, that the pamphlet, called a Refutation of the above Letter to a Brigadier General, was the production of his maiden pen; that this Refutation was the cause of his introduction to
Lord

Lord Townshend, who afterwards brought him into Parliament for Tamworth. It is to be observed that there is no disgrace in the transaction. There are other gentlemen who owe their advancement to their pens. Mr. Cooper (now Sir Grey Cooper, Bart.) another young Barrister in the Temple, wrote a pamphlet on the Change of the Ministry in 1756, called *A Pair of Spectacles for Short Sighted Politicians*, which introduced him to Lord Rockingham, who made him one of the Secretaries to the Treasury for it, and likewise gave him a pension to take place whenever he was removed, because he could not return to the Bar.

Lord Thurlow was not much known at the Bar. He made his debut as an orator in Parliament, where he has shewn that he possessed very strong powers, sound manly sense, and a most dignified manner, that has never failed to impress conviction. When pleading at the Bar of the House of Lords, it has been observed that he has struck Lord Mansfield with fear and trembling.

As

As Lord Chancellor his decrees have given universal satisfaction. They were very rarely appealed from, and only one has been reversed. He has principally attached himself to the Marquis of Bath and the Marquis of Stafford. From the hours of conviviality, the acquaintance became affection. He has uniformly supported, from the moment of his entrance into office, except towards the close of the last Session, when he opposed Mr. Rose's bill, and a bill of Mr. Pitt's concerning finance. His conduct on the Regency business, reflected great honour on his Lordship, and was highly approved by the public. But having, as hath been observed, opposed Mr. Pitt in the last Session of Parliament, Mr. Pitt resolved to resign if the Chancellor was not removed. The decision was with his Majesty. One of them must go out. If Mr. Pitt had gone out, many would have followed him. The Chancellor carried nobody. His Majesty decided to part with his Chancellor.

LORD BELGRAVE.

Charus amicis.

LORD GOWER.

Sævis tranquillus in undis.

HIS Lordship discharged his duties as an ambassador at Paris, during a very difficult and perilous time, with honour to himself and satisfaction to his sovereign.—But he gave no dinners at Paris to the writer of the Jockey Club—nor lent him any money. Reader, these are his Lordship's faults.

LORD EDWARD BENTINCK.

Purus ab omni labe.

LORD GEORGE H. CAVENDISH.

Inculpatus.

LORD JOHN TOWNSHEND.

Pest tot naufragia portum.

MR. JUSTICE BULLER.

Hilarisque, tamen cum pondere, virtus. STAT.

UNDER this character the writer of the Jockey Club has thought proper to introduce certain customs, or abuses as he terms them, in the King's Bench prison, in which prison he having passed several months, it is possible that his description may, in some degree, be true. But what connection has Mr. Buller with them? He neither created them nor authorized them.

Next comes a most violent attack upon all attornies in their professional capacity. Some part of the heavy charge he brings may be very true, respecting some attornies; but it is certainly not true against every gentleman in that line; for it is well known, that there are in it many as well-bred gentlemen, as gentle in manners, and possessing as much true tendernefs, as any of the most benevolent characters in physic or surgery. But candour must admit, that there are several of the profession of attornies, who are not only
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a disgrace to the profession, but a disgrace to human nature ; they are the pest of society ; capable of any, and of every, act that can degrade the nature and character of man. And it is incumbent upon every court, as well for its own honour, as for the credit of the laws, that when the conduct of any such person comes before them, either immediately, or relatively only, to order an inquiry to be made, and to punish the delinquent ; in order to prevent the practice of abuse, and delusion in others. The professors of the law can never be too pure. Nothing but preventing abuse in the practitioners, can secure to the laws their proper respect and authority. A base attorney is the vilest character upon earth.

Mr. Buller's opinion of the law in cases of libels has been controverted by Mr. Erskine. But it does not yet seem to be decided which of them is right. Mr. Fox's bill on libels does not go far enough to establish Mr. Erskine's doctrine, nor is it strong to overturn the Judge's. It is not quite certain whether that bill will do much good to the cause it was intended to serve ; and it may be a doubt,

whether it has not armed the Judge with more power than he had before ; for, under this bill, he can say to the Jury, that the libel he is trying is false, scandalous, malicious, seditious, treasonable, and all the other epithets usually applied on these occasions in indictments and informations : Whereas, formerly, he only said, that whether the matter charged was a libel, or not, belonged to the Court to determine. It may be permitted to observe, that this sort of reserve was less likely to have so great an influence over a Jury, than the latitude now given to the Judge, to denounce the matter in question, by any terms and epithets he pleases. It is true, the Juries *may*, without fear or controul, assert and exercise their *rights* : But how seldom do we hear of Juries, in cases of libel, acting otherwise than as the Judge directs them ?

Here it cannot be improper to say a few words on this subject, which has made so much noise in the world.

And first, it must be said, because all experience has shewn it, that the crime of libel
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is a mere matter of opinion. The same paper is a libel one day, and none another. It is sometimes a libel in Westminster-Hall and none at Guildhall (witness the trials of Junius's Letters). A matter of such uncertainty, which affects the most valuable privilege we have, and is so often the ruin of individuals, ought to be settled upon some solid and permanent basis. There cannot exist a greater grievance in any country, than that the criminal law, in a matter of such importance, should be *discretionary*. There should be some marks, or limits, by which a libel can be known. No man at present knows what is a libel. Any thing that contains a reflection upon any person, is called a libel. Any thing that tends to excite distrust in or of the government, is called a libel. If these positions are true, there can be no such thing as a liberty of the press. It is scarcely possible to compose a writing, of any kind, that may not controvert some man's opinion. If Lettsom writes against Mayerbach, it is a libel: If Mayerbach reflects upon Lettsom, it is a libel: And yet the Public may profit by the
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controversy. If a rascally attorney, or any other infamous character, is exposed, he calls it a libel; although such exposure is an act of public service, by putting mankind on their guard against such characters. If a scavenger is arraigned at the bar of the Public for not cleaning the streets, he calls it a libel. In a word, every man of common sense must see that the affair of libel is capable of being construed, and extended to every thing that can be possibly thought or imagined. Then, in answer to this, it is laid down as law, that no man has a right to complain of another—he must seek redress at law: That is, in plain English, a standing army of lawyers is to be kept up and maintained by the Public; and for the particular profit and maintenance of this army only, an infinite number of frivolous, vexatious, malicious, and constructive crimes, are to be encouraged, countenanced, and legalized; when public shame would do more to check and correct the guilty, than a thousand prosecutions for libels. The press in all these cases is the best monitor and corrector.

With

With respect to the other position, that any writing which tends to excite distrust in government is a libel—it is infinitely more alarming and dangerous than the other.

If every writing of this kind be a libel, then all the papers which accelerated the Revolution, by which the present family came to the crown, were libels : Every paper that complains of any public grievance, is a libel : Every paragraph in every newspaper, that blames the conduct of any minister, is a libel : In short, it is impossible to say what political writing is not a libel, unless it be a panegyric on government. This is perfectly gagging the press. And it is impossible that any liberty can exist where such *discretion* is lodged ; for it is in the discretion of the Ministry, and the Attorney General, to denounce any writing a libel, that they think proper to call so.

Enough has been said to convince any person of the danger of a discretionary power. There certainly ought to be some certain points established, by which a libel shall be known.

known. Or if this is not to be done, though it can be as easily done as any other part of the criminal law can be settled and ascertained; either permit the press to be as free as air, as it is in America and France; or put it at once under the restraint of a licenser. This last was Lord Mansfield's idea of the liberty of the press. In several of his charges to Juries on trials for libels, he has said, that the true meaning of the liberty of the press was no more than this, a liberty to print that book or paper *without* a license, which formerly he [the defendant] might print *with* one.

Mr. Schiefner, in his late work, entitled, *An Explanation of the Practice of Law*, makes some very pertinent observations on this very interesting subject of libel. The following is a part of what he says :

“ Several of my friends have urged me to give my sentiments on the subject of *libel*, as to the constitutional legality of the attorney-general's filing informations *ex officio*. As to that, I beg leave to observe, that I do not believe, in any one case whatever, that such power was ever made use of for the public good. So great a power, lodged in the hands of any one individual, be that person who he
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may, let his private character be ever so good, or his public abilities ever so great, must not alone be dangerous, but absolutely pernicious. Judge Blackstone, in treating of the court of King's Bench, has *indirectly* thrown the *greatest sarcasm* on this part of our laws that ever man did. He tells you, that in this court has resulted all that was good and salutary in the court of Star Chamber. I have only this question to ask, *What ever was good and salutary* in that court? And can there be any room to doubt, that the oppressions following from its decrees were among the first causes that contributed to the ruin of Charles the First? Can there be a doubt but that they alienated from the breasts of the people their love for their sovereign? Is it then an unfair inference to draw, that the same, or a similar cause, which lost King Charles his monarchy, and his head into the bargain, may lose us our valuable constitution? For informations *ex officio* are *the Star Chamber of the present day*. Having then called the mode of filing informations *ex officio* unconstitutional, I ought, no doubt, to point out what is the constitutional method of proceeding in such cases. This, then, shortly is, *that a bill be presented to a grand jury*; for by those laws which regulate the liberties of Englishmen, no man, in a *criminal* case, ought to be condemned but by the judgment of twenty-four of his peers, at least twelve of the grand jury, and the whole of the petit jury.

The first are to find whether there be good cause of accusation ; the second, whether there be such proof as ought to go to conviction.— And certainly the first is not less necessary than the second. I see no reason why the attorney-general should not present *his* bill before a grand jury, as well as a private individual. There would be no sort of danger, were his cause a just one, but the same attention would be paid by a grand jury to a complaint coming from *him*, as from any other person.”

On the practice of prosecuting a libel criminally, Mr. Schiefner says as follows:

“ So far as regards *libel* in particular, which has already been defined a man’s being abused, *either in writing or in print*, I question much if it ought to be the subject of a criminal prosecution at all; for if any man have received any damage, or be likely to receive any, as the case may be, why not refer him to his *civil* action ? The law, in that respect, seems perfectly competent to make the injured party every reparation; and I am sure, in every case that I have seen, juries have always been very ready to give ample damages in cases of defamation, wherever the reason of the thing seemed so to direct. I know very well, those who take the other side of the question, will urge, what are you to do with a *black-guard*,

guard, who is, perhaps, not worth a shilling? How are you to recover any damages of him who has not a farthing to pay? You will not even get your costs of him. To be sure, this appears, at first, very good reasoning, but it is *a sophistry that ought to be refuted*. Suppose you prosecute criminally, what damages do you get then? The fine goes to the King. And what costs do you get? None at all: For costs are never given to plaintiffs in criminal cases. Consequently, if any one man prosecute another criminally, the prosecutor is sure to be the costs out of pocket. But then it will be urged, the court will inflict the punishment of imprisonment upon him; but so you yourself may, for you may take him in execution for the damages and costs, and keep him in jail till he pay you. But then he may pay and get free, say you; why then *you receive every restitution* that a jury of your countrymen thought proper to give you. You may ask, perhaps, can the crown bring an action for damages? Most undoubtedly so; for it is *daily done* in the court of Exchequer, for the recovery of penalties. Therefore, if the crown can bring an action in one case, where is its incompatibility to bring one in another?

“ True and genuine freedom can only be supported by possessing the liberty of speaking, writing, printing or publishing, in the most free, open, and unequivocal manner.

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“ The *practice* of the law should be rendered plain and easy; it should be, in the emphatic language of scripture, so plain, ‘ *that every man who runs may read.*’ Render it so, and you will have no occasion for an attorney-general to file *ex officio* information.

“ Nothing should have induced me to have at all touched upon it, but that I think the whole business of libel perfectly an offence of civil, and *not* of *criminal* cognisance; or at the utmost, if the attorney-general should have the power of proceeding criminally, ‘ That he present his bill, like another man who has a prosecution to commence at the suit of the King, to a grand jury.’ For the King is plaintiff in all criminal proceedings, though at the instance of a private prosecutor, who so prefers his bill. Why, then, I want to know, should not accusations be presented the same way, where the King is plaintiff upon the information of his public officer?”

RIGHT

RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

Erectis auribus adstant.

THIS is another gentleman who owes his advancement to his literary talents. When the change of the ministry took place in the year 1765, the late William Fitzherbert, of Tiffington, in Derbyshire, Esq. carried him to the Marquis of Rockingham, who made him his Secretary. This was his first introduction. To Mr. Fitzherbert he was known as a literary character. He had no other at that time. The first time he spoke in Parliament (being elected by Lord Rockingham's interest) was on the repeal of the American stamp act.—When he sat down, Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) rose, and complimented him highly on his first speech, and recommended him to pursue his happy and promising talent for oratory.

Lord Chatham's penetration was quickly confirmed. Mr. Burke became, in a short time, the first speaker in the House of Commons.

mons. An eminent writer of the present age has said, " he is the only man since the age of Cicero, who has united the talents of speaking and writing with irresistible force and elegance." His consistency, and fidelity to his party, are proverbial. He has repeatedly rejected the highest and most flattering offers, made with a view of detaching him from his friends. Nothing could shake his integrity. His conduct in private life is as amiable as in public life it is respectable.—His character as a writer will endure as long as our language. He will be honoured by all posterity with the title of being one of the finest English classics.

The services he has done to his country are innumerable. The many laws which owe their origin to his wisdom; which have corrected an infinite number of abuses, of the most intricate and complicated nature, shew that he possesses the soundest judgment, the strongest mind, and the most acute penetration of any man in the House of Commons. Calumny and falsehood may attempt to revile and blacken such a character, but all impartial persons will despise and detest the fiction, the
malice,

malice, and the art, by which unfounded flanders are produced and supported.

The principal attack that has been made on Mr. Burke's character, is on account of his constant and uniform opposition to all the projects which have been offered for what is called *a reformation of Parliament*. This matter is, no doubt, of great and serious importance to the public; and is particularly so at this time, not only because the several gentlemen who are desirous of reform, are supported in their opinions by people of great consideration, and of great numbers, but because various sentiments of reform are extended to Ireland and Scotland.

But leaving those kingdoms out of the question at present, Mr. Burke has steadily opposed the measure in England, upon principle, and upon conviction of its inutility, danger, and folly; no matter by whom brought forward. On this point he has differed from Mr. Fox; and this circumstance shews that he acts upon his own principles, regularly and consistently.

The writer of the Jockey Club having devoted a considerable portion of his pamphlets, in different parts, to a strong recommendation of this popular but delusive opinion; it becomes one of the most essential parts of an answer, to refute these vague and wild chimeras.

Much has been said, in an infinite number of publications, of the necessity of a reform of Parliament. Every argument has been urged, and every fact has been stated, that can give countenance and force to the request.

But, as the arguments and the facts on the *other side* have not been given, with either the same activity or zeal, no reader can, in this place, deem it improper to state a few of the latter, that the public may be the better enabled to judge of *both sides* of the question.— And it will from thence be seen whether Mr. Burke has reason on his side, or not.

Taking this argument, therefore, in its respective divisions or classes, the first that presents itself is that respecting annual Parliaments.

Those

Those who are for annual parliaments have said, that *they* are an Englishman's *birth-right*; and that any parliament chosen otherwise than for one year only, is an illegal parliament; that the electing of a member of parliament for a longer term than one year, is a deprivation, or suspension, of the exercise of the people's right of franchise.

The plain answer to these bold assertions is, that the claim to a right of annual parliaments was never made, nor was the right, as such, ever exercised. The simple facts will confute every assertion that has been made upon this part of the subject.

The first summons of representatives of the people was in the year 1264, the 49th of Henry III.; and consequently this was the first time of *electing* them. There was no law made respecting the *duration* of parliament. Nor can any argument be drawn for, or against, the question, from the custom of those early times; for there was no regular custom.—Some years parliament sat twice in the same year; and at other times there was no parliament for several years. This irregularity caused a statute to be made, in the 4th of Ed-

ward III. for the holding of parliaments annually. It is *here* that the mistake seems to have been made in the *claim* to *annual* parliaments. The claimants assert, that *new* parliaments were called annually in this reign, by a statute which has not been repealed. And upon this assertion they build their hypothesis, that the people have a *right*, by law, to elect a *new* parliament every year. But had they read the statute throughout, or consulted the subsequent statutes of the 36th of Edward III. cap. 10. or the 2d of Richard II. nu. 28. they would have seen their error. Neither the 4th of Edward III. nor the two subsequent statutes above named, authorise, or even mention, that a *new* parliament shall be elected annually.

All the three statutes were made for a very different purpose; and that purpose is expressed in them. There can be no doubts raised upon the subject, because the thing is perfectly clear; construction is out of the question. The purpose and power of those statutes are purely *for the redress of grievances*. They say, “ That parliaments shall be *held* annually (not a word about *new*), and that they shall

shall not be prorogued, or *dissolved*, until *all* the petitions and bills before them are answered and redressed." This, or rather these laws, are no more than obliging the King to order the parliament *to meet every year*; and this has been either wilfully, or I will say foolishly, mistaken, and construed into a silly meaning concerning the *election* of *annual* parliaments, although nothing can be so foreign to the true intent and meaning of the statutes; which may be further and more clearly seen by the subsequent statutes.

The parliament which met at Westminster, on the 17th of September 1397, 11th of Richard II. (when all the statutes above mentioned were recent in every one's memory), met again at Shrewsbury, on the 29th of January in the following year; and held its *second* session there. See Cotton's Abr. pp. 367, 371. Tyrrel, p. 964. Rymer's Fœd. tom. 8. p. 21.

The Journals of the Commons commence with the reign of Edward VI. The first volume opens with the *first* session of the first parliament of that King; which lasted from

November 8, 1547, to December 23, 1547. The *second* session (expressly distinguished by the word *second*) from November 24, 1548, to March 14, 1548-9. The *third* session (in like manner distinguished by the word *third*) from November 4, 1549, to February 1, 1549-50. The *fourth* session (in like manner distinguished by the word *fourth*) from January 23, 1550, to April 15, 1552; when this parliament was dissolved. See vol. i. p. 23.

The *first* parliament of Queen Elizabeth met on the 23d of January 1558-9, and was dissolved on the 8th of May in the same year. She called no parliament until the 12th of January 1562-3, when the *first session* of her *second* parliament began, and continued until April 10, 1563; at which time it was prorogued to October in the same year; and afterwards was prorogued five more different times; so that the *second* session did not begin until September 30, 1566, and continued till January 2, 1566-7, when it was dissolved. Her *third* parliament was not called until the 2d of April 1571, when it sat only till May 29 of the same year, and was then dissolved,

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Her *fourth* parliament sat on the 8th of May 1572, the *first* session of which lasted only till 30th of June of the same year. The *second* session (of this, her *fourth* parliament) did not begin until the 8th of February 1575, and continued to only March 15 of the same year. This parliament, says Sir Simon D'Ewes, page 204, was prorogued at least twenty-five times. The *third* session did not commence until January 16, 1580, and continued to March 18 of the same year; and after seventeen more prorogations, the parliament was dissolved in April 1583.

The parliament in the reign of James I. sat about eight days in three years, and was not dissolved until the ninth year of his reign.

Many more proofs might be given; but these are enough to shew, that the assertions of former parliaments sitting only *one* session, and of their being dissolved and elected annually, are not supported by either law or practice.

In 1641 the first triennial act was passed.—
The act did not say that a *new* parliament
should

should be *elected* every three years, but “ that there shall be a *session* held once in three years at least.”

In 1664 the act was repealed by the long parliament, because some parts of it were supposed to entrench upon the prerogative. At the same time another law was made, saying, “ That the fitting and holding of parliaments shall *not* be intermitted above three years at the most.”

The last authority I shall quote, upon this point, is Mr. Justice Blackstone, who, in his Commentaries, says (after shewing “ That no parliament can be convened by its own authority, or by the authority of any, except the King alone”), “ That by the ancient statutes of the realm, he (the King) is bound to convoke a parliament every year, or oftner, if need be. Not that he is, or *ever was*, obliged by these statutes to call a *new* parliament *every year*; but only to permit *a parliament to sit annually* for the redress of grievances, and dispatch of business, if need be. These last words are so loose and vague, that such of our monarchs

as were inclined to govern without parliaments, neglected the convoking them, sometimes for a very considerable period, under pretence that there was no need of them. But to remedy this, by the statute 16 Car. II. c. 1. it is enacted, that the sitting and holding of parliaments shall not be intermitted above three years at the most. And by the statute 1 W. and M. st. 2. c. 2. it is declared to be one of the rights of the people, that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

This indefinite word *frequently*, occasioned the act, commonly called the triennial act, which passed in 1694; and which enacted, "That a *new* parliament should be called every third year, and that the present parliament should be dissolved before the first of January 1695-6." This is the first law that limited the prerogative to any period of duration.

I will make but one more observation, which will reduce the matter to a very simple alternative.

If

If the freeholders and freemen have a *right* to an annual election, the King has no right to dissolve the parliament; because the dissolution would take place at the end of the annual session, as a thing of course. If the claim to such *right* is just, the prerogative to dissolve whenever the crown sees fit, is an usurpation. If the prerogative is just, the claim to such *right* is an attempt at usurpation.

All these precedents and points are clear, with respect to the *duration* of parliament.

Let us now proceed to the facts and arguments respecting the grand franchise, or right of election in the people. The advocates for the *reform of parliament* do not stop with a claim of right to *annual* parliaments; but they demand a *farther alteration*; which is, that the right of voting, or electing members of parliament, shall be extended to all the inhabitants of the kingdom, of whatsoever degree or condition: And some of these advocates proceed farther, and say, that a certain number of boroughs shall be disfranchised. It is a little paradoxical, to demand a franchise for those who never enjoyed it, and deny the exercise

exercise of it in those who have supposed it to be an inheritance.

Before the reign of Henry III. there were no representatives elected by the people.— It was after the battle of Lewes, 1264, when the barons had got Henry III. in their possession, that they *began* to form a system of *representation*, and resolved to have it confirmed. The posture of affairs rendered the calling of this parliament liable to some difficulties. Indeed it was done in the King's name, who could not oppose it. But the victorious barons were not willing those of the contrary party should be summoned. These difficulties put the barons upon contriving how to make this assembly (which had hitherto consisted of only the barons and clergy) *more general*, and give it a greater air of authority.— To this end they made the King sign commissions, appointing in each county certain officers, called conservators; they were similar to sheriffs. The Earl of Leicester, who was at the head of the victorious barons, next obliged the King to sign orders to these conservators, to send up four knights in each county to sit in the ensuing parliament, as representatives

of their respective shires. In the next parliament it was altered to two knights for each county ; and this number has continued ever since. Thus did representation commence ; not in the justice of the thing, but in the policy of the man who gave it, substituting these knights of the shire for those barons whom he did not chuse to summon.

The present Lord Camelford states the matter in these words: “ The first writs, in the reign of Henry III. summoned to parliament none but knights of the shire ; they were considered as a complete representation of the people. But how was their equality adjusted ? By assigning the same number of representatives to the county of Rutland, as to the counties of Devon, Somerset, Lincoln, and York. Is there scarcely a greater inequality to be stated in the present representation ? To these, which I have ever thought to be the true representatives of the people at large, were added the great cities, and by degrees large towns, places of note, and even inconsiderable villages. By what rule they were added it is difficult to say ; certainly not by any rule of equal representation, or the uniform importance of
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the places that were honoured with this privilege. The prerogative at that time was held competent to grant such privileges, as it granted the privileges of corporations and immunities as it thought expedient ; and such beneficial or honorary privileges have ever been held among the most sacred rights that we possess. Is it fit, is it expedient, to try these chartered privileges at this time of day, by a *new* rule, that never did apply to them ?”

Whatever was the right of election before the reign of Henry VI. is not precisely known; but it is certain that the elections were *disorderly* and *outrageous*, owing to *excessive numbers* of people. To remedy this grievance, the stat. of 8 Henry VI. c. 7. was made, which says, “ That whereas knights of the shire had of late been chosen by outrageous and *excessive* numbers of people, and of *small substance*, for the future, the said knights shall be elected in every county, by people dwelling and resident in the said counties, whereof every one shall have in lands or tenements to the value of forty shillings by the year at least,” &c.

By the 23d of Henry VI. representatives were given to the Welsh counties on the same principle of limitation, as to the right of voting, to prevent disorderly and tumultuous elections by excessive numbers of people. And this limitation was *again* confirmed, for the same reasons, 35 Henry VIII. in the act allowing knights for the county of Chester; which Richard II. had made a county palatine. And this limitation was *again* confirmed, a third time, by an act of the 25th of Charles II. allowing knights for Durham, another county palatine.

The case of Durham was attended by a circumstance, which marks the sense of parliament, upon this very point of *equal* representation, in the strongest manner. There were speculators in those days; but the sound judgment of parliament rejected their reveries. When the Durham bill was engrossed, Sir Thomas Meres (March 26, 1668) moved, "That the shires may have an increase of knights, and that some of the small boroughs, where there were but few electors, may be taken away, and this to make part of the Durham bill." Mr. Vaughan said, "If we have
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all our members here, we have no room for them. If we bring in more members, we may, by the same reason, multiply them to as many more. The county of York has many, but they may as well put in for knights of every riding." See Grey's Debates, vol. i. p. 120. But the House, rather than agree to this, threw out the *whole* bill, upon a division, as the least evil. See Commons Journals, vol. ix. p. 69. In March 1673 the Durham bill was revived; and being now confined to the *single object* of the county, it passed.

To these citations, I beg leave to add only one more; and that is, part of an address from Junius, to the society who called themselves the Supporters of the Bill of Rights; occasioned by an idea which prevailed among some speculative people at that time (ten years ago), of disfranchising what they called the rotten boroughs. Junius was no friend to arbitrary monarchy, nor to arbitrary aristocracy, and yet he writes thus to the society upon the subject of these boroughs:

"As to the cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man,
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at seeing so many of them under the influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure*, of the legislature, to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds the idea of a *supreme* and *arbitrary* legislature. I need not point out to you the fatal purposes to which it has been, and may be, applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, there are many things which we ought to affirm cannot be done by Kings, Lords, and Commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement. I consider it as equivalent to *robbing* the parties concerned of their freehold, of their birth-right. I say, that although this birth-right may be forfeited, or
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the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution. *I believe there is no power in this country to make such a law.* Supposing the attempt made, I am persuaded you cannot mean that either King or Lords should take an active part in it. A bill which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. The exclusive right of the Commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a money-bill.— Now I should be glad to know by what kind of reasoning it can be proved, that there is a power vested in the representative to destroy his immediate constituent: From whence could he possibly derive it? A courtier, I know, will be ready enough to maintain the affirmative. The doctrine suits him exactly, because it gives an unlimited operation to the influence of the crown. But we must hold a different language. It is no answer to me to say, that the bill, when it passes the House of Commons, is the act of the majority, and not of the representatives of the particular boroughs

roughs concerned. If the majority can disfranchise ten boroughs, why not twenty? Why not the whole kingdom? Why should not they make their own seats in parliament for life? For argument sake, I will now suppose, that the expediency of the measure, and the power of parliament, were unquestionable; still you will find an insurmountable difficulty in the exclusion. When all your instruments of amputation are prepared—when the unhappy patient lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? when you propose to cut away the rotten parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop—at what point the mortification ends?—I have but one word to add—I would not give representatives to those great trading towns, which have none at present. If the merchant and the manufacturer must be *really* represented, let them become freeholders by their industry, and let the representation of the county be increased. You will find the interruption of business in those towns, by the riots and cabals of election, too dear a price

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for

for the nugatory privilege of sending members to parliament."

These arguments, and these reasons, are all of them so weighty, that I shall not presume to add any thing to them, except the bare mention of a simple fact, of the borough of Orford being transferred to the interest of Lord Hertford, during the late Lord Chatham's last administration; which shews his Lordship's opinion of private, or family boroughs; that they were less dangerous in the hands of a respectable family, deeply interested in the prosperity of the country, than if they were under the influence of the crown, or open to public temptation.

A few words may be offered respecting the gentlemen from the West and East Indies (all of whom are not plunderers): Their long residence abroad has precluded them from the possibility of making any large acquaintance at home; yet their great property, and, perhaps, thorough knowledge of the British possessions they have lived in, well entitle them to a seat in parliament when they come to England. If the empire is injured, they are the first who

are affected. Can there be either justice or policy in any plan which deprives parliament of the assistance of these gentlemen? If the boroughs are disfranchised, and the right of election made general, how are these gentlemen to come into parliament? Will the voters of any locality elect a stranger, in preference to a gentleman well known in the neighbourhood? When the interests of Jamaica or Bengal are under consideration, can the gentleman who has never been out of England, support or oppose a commercial regulation, so ably or properly as the gentleman who has lived there?

There is an argument made use of by the reformers, in favour of a general right of election, which, on the first reading, seems a little plausible. They say, that if the right of election were general, that is, in all the inhabitants, there would be less corruption; because it is *impossible* for any candidate to bribe *all* the people. They are here speaking of cities and large towns, in which the inhabitants amount to several thousands. Admitting the impossibility to the fullest extent, and admitting likewise, for a moment, all the speculations

lations founded thereupon, let us try these arguments by facts. Westminster is the place where the right of election comes nearest to the proposition of all persons having a right to vote. Every housekeeper there has a right to vote for members of parliament; and if there are two, or more, partners (even ten or a score) in the same house, they have *all* a right to vote for the *same premises*. This is pretty general. Now all those gentlemen who know any thing of a contested election in Westminster, must know that it is one of the most expensive elections in England; and the reason that the elections in Westminster are not oftener contested, is the just dread of the enormity of the expence.

There never was a *general right* of election. The first idea of parliament was by a *selection*. The original barons were no more than a *selection*. The first writs for counties were directed to a *selection*; then to particular cities and towns: What was that but a *selection*? A *general* right was never supposed to exist, from the first day of representation to the present hour.

If we admit that any innovation ought to be made in the present parliamentary constitution, the first persons who would claim, and unquestionably would have a good claim, would be the *national* proprietors of the public funds, and the members of the monied companies, the Bank, East-India, &c. These possessing a species of property which was unknown to our ancestors, at the time that representation was given, have, as such, never been represented. Their weight and consequence, at this time, entitle them to the first consideration; yet they have never been known to complain. They are too wise not to know, that innovations in the constitution would hazard the permanency, the security, and the happiness of it.

MR.

MR. PITT.

*No friend to faction, nor no dupe to zeal,
For to all party but the public weal.*

P. WHITEHEAD.

MR. PITT has shewn himself both an able minister, and a man of the world; that is, a man who knows and understands mankind. When he found the majority of Lord North's parliament against him, he did not resign, like his predecessor Lord Lansdowne: He had seen the folly of that measure of his Lordship, and he profited by it.

The conduct of the Coalition, in their opposition to Mr. Pitt, rendered them obnoxious to the nation. He took immediate advantage of that tide in the opinions of men, which at that moment flowed strong in his favour. He had a sufficient knowledge of human nature to see its force; and of penetration to discover the use that might be derived from it. He chose the happy moment to dissolve the

the parliament. Many leading characters in the opposition to him, lost their elections because they had opposed him. He came with an hereditary claim to the public suffrage, from the weight and dignity of his father's character. Lord Lansdowne, who first introduced him into office, had not such an advantage. It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Pitt's friends made the most of this circumstance in his favour. But it is equally true, that Mr. Pitt, in early life, made the most of every opportunity to improve himself. He visited most parts of England and Scotland. He took pains to deserve the public favour: And that he has obtained it is notoriously true. And it is also equally true, that his character, both private and public, most amply testifies to the present age, and will to the future, that his fame shall wear well, for it has been virtuously earned.

His conduct, since he became minister, has been arraigned, like that of every other minister; with the same sort of temper, and with the same sort of argument; the same species of envy, and the same degree of enmity. But the envy and the argument have pro-

proceeded, *pari passu*, without establishing any one position to give them remembrance—to give a twinkling existence to the dying embers of their languid flame.

In a word, Mr. Pitt is the only minister, since his father, who has extinguished party and secret influence; who has united the court and people; who has directed the sceptre of the crown, and wielded the shield of democracy; who has commanded where others have supplicated; who has maintained his authority at St. James's, and his credit with the nation; who, never having betrayed the confidence of the first, nor sacrificed the interest of the last, is more than respected in the closet, and more than admired by his country.

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